4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

438 There is ample evidence that both commerce and handcrafts were fully developed many centuries B. C. The *Chou Li*, or Annals of the Chou Dynasty (1122–249 B. C.), contain these words: "The fifth officer is called the chief of manufacturers. He orders the making up of the eight materials. The sixth officer is called the chief of trade. He provides for an abundant circulation of goods and money." [1] It is evident that the government at that early date had a close relationship with and supervision of both commerce and trade.

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B. Historical Evidence Regarding Guild Origin

*441 It is interesting to note that Morse finds that the Bankers Guild of Ningpo traces its origin to the establishment of the Bureau of the Treasury of the same Chou Dynasty and also to the institution of the different standards of currency in the Han Dynasty (B.C. 206 to A. D. 25). In ancient Chinese literature in general, however, there is little or no reference to the guilds. The interest of the writers was in officials and scholars, not in artisans or merchants. The present writer has been unable to secure anything corresponding to the recorded history which the guildsmen keep themselves. In the case of many of the craft guilds the members are illiterate, but the usual practice in all guilds is to employ a secretary who keeps the records. Up to the present, however, it has been impossible to secure such records.

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The preamble of regulations and the common tradition of the guild frequently assign an earlier date to the founding, but more often the reply as to when the guild was founded is given in the words of the preamble of the regulations of the Wenchou Druggists Guild — that the guilds have been at work "from the days of yore to the present." [2]

[1] Quoted by E. T. Williams in *China, Yesterday and Today*, p. 147.

[2] Morse, *op. cit.*

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

under the control of the *Nan Cheng Ssu* (Southern City Police Headquarters) but not now." In another place he tells us a payment of 40 taels ($55.56) was necessary to buy a permit from *Nan Cheng Ssu* before a title of leader (of a group) was valid. It is evident that in the prosperous days when there was a change of leadership, the police got a fixed percentage before the transaction was valid.

We have, then, been describing an organization which constitutes a hereditary monopoly of what formerly was a rather significant and important occupation in the capital. We find evidence down to the present day of a very detailed organization and minute regulations. Since 1912 there has been no Manchu Court to which tribute could be brought. It is highly probable that much of the baggage corresponding to what was formerly carried by these porters now comes in by train either from the Southwest or from the East, thus eliminating in many cases the necessity of transportation by hand over the area monopolized by the guild. The close relation not only to the Court but to the police has been discontinued; but the ancient beliefs are cherished and many ancient regulations still persist in great detail.

B. The Carpenters Guild

The Carpenters Guild of Peking is known as the "Sacred Society of Lu Pan," the supposed originator of the carpenters' craft. It includes the ordinary house-builders and the carvers of wooden ornaments, but does not take in the furniture menders, who have a guild of their own. Its headquarters are at the *Ching Chung Miao* (Refined Loyalty Temple) in the Southern City in Peking. The description here given, unless otherwise indicated, is based entirely on information gathered by Mr. Chang, the nephew of the priest, through interviews with another Mr. Chang, aged about fifty, the foreman of the carpenters' shop. In the fol-

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

871 *441 *467 from each store at the rate of 10 coppers ($.03) for each pig, and sold at a profit. Possibly this fourth grade work is a type of apprenticeship which is a stepping stone to the higher grades of work. To become a worker in the Vegetable Merchants Guild it is necessary to have a government license, but there is no term of required apprenticeship.

B. The Securing of Apprentices

*441 *467 464 871 The new apprentice comes with an introduction from a friend of a guildsman, or is merely introduced by his relatives to the shop or store head. In most cases it is necessary for the newcomer to have one or more guarantors who will vouch for his good behavior and see that the agreement or contract entered into with the craftsman or merchant is carried out. To become a Mat Tent Builder the new apprentice must have three guarantors. The usual practice, however, is for one person, either a relative or a friend, to act in this capacity.

In *Peking Rugs and Peking Boys,* by Mr. Chu and Mr. Blaisdell, it is shown that the boys entering the trade come entirely from the country districts outside Peking. "The shop owners go into the country where they can find some one who will guarantee the boys."[1] The Peking employers prefer these country boys because "they do not make so much trouble." Mr. Chang reports that in the guilds with which he has come in contact "practically all" apprentices are from the country. Peking boys are not wanted because their families are near by and hinder their work. They are also less industrious than boys from the country. It is probable that in Peking there is a special situation which may not obtain in other places. There is in the city a very large Manchu population, many of them descendants of the

[1] C. C. Chu and Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., *Peking Rugs and Peking Boys* (Peking, 1924), pp. 29-30.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

DISPUTES

Most of the guilds studied in Peking are completely autonomous (except in the case of the commercial guilds, which agreed to certain restrictions on joining the Chamber of Commerce). There are, however, in certain cases, close relationships between the guilds of certain occupations. The Shoe Fasteners' products are necessarily bought by the Shoe Stores, while the Confectionery Makers supply their products to the Confectionery Stores. The Carpenters, Masons, and Painters are closely related in building enterprises. Frequently the same guild founder is worshiped by guilds of related trades.

The records of Peking guilds show that there is frequent friction between the Awning Makers and the Mat Tent Builders. The Confectionery Makers have struck several times, demanding higher wages from the Confectionery Stores' managers.

In 1900 the Shoe Fasteners struck to increase the rates paid for their work by the Shoe Stores, and they received the increase. In 1912 another dispute arose between these guilds because the Shoe Stores "stopped giving out work." The Shoe Fasteners brought the matter before the civil court and sued the Stores for damages. The matter was patched up, the Shoe Stores expressing apology and good will by inviting the Shoe Fasteners to a feast! Relations thereafter were amicably renewed. In 1924 the Shoe Fasteners again struck for an increase in wages.

CONFLICTS WITH THE OFFICIALS

The weapon of the strike is used most powerfully and frequently with far-reaching effects against grasping or exorbitant officials. The revision of rules of the Wenchow Carpenters Guild when officials attempted to demand more

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

work of the Carpenters than they felt they should give on public repairs, is a good illustration of the method of the guilds in dealing with officials.

Revision of Rules. Our trade is represented before the mandarinate by five headmen (selected by the carpenters from their craft, who are recognized by magistrates, and on whom demands are made when repairs of yamens are needed), who undertake public works. Heretofore they have conformed to rule, exacting one day each year for our employment for mandarins, for which one hundred *coppers* per diem was paid, and three meals, and in lieu of that service, an exaction of a hundred *cash*. But now there is a demand for additional service, which we refuse to render, or to pay money in lieu thereof, and there are none to perform needful repairs of the public offices. On this emergency the mandarinate have ordered us to elect five other headmen, who shall act in accordance with established rules, that hereafter no more than one day's work in a year shall be exacted of us, nor more than a hundred *cash* in commutation for such service. This we have done; and we have agreed that when any member of the Union refuses to pay that amount, the newly elected headmen shall mulct the masters who employ them. [Macgowan adds] This strike, like all others that take place, ended in the triumph of wage-earners.[1]

Our records show friction between the local government and the guilds in many cases. The Scavengers Guild in 1925 refused to empty the public latreens because of a new police regulation which forbad the pushers to stand their wheelbarrows in certain places on the street. After several days, owing to the pressure of citizens of the West City who were greatly inconvenienced by the failure of scavengers to appear, the police regulations were rescinded. The reorganization of several of the guilds in Peking was clearly the result of a conviction on the part of the members that

[1] Macgowan, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

they must unite in order to resist unjust taxation. This is true also of the Rice and Flour Guild and the Mutton and Pork Shops.[1]

The tremendous power of the guilds in their relationship to the government is described by Williams as follows:

> The guilds of China are not organized under charters from the Government, but the Government has always recognized their power and has usually been careful to avoid open conflict. Conflict, as we have seen, has usually resulted in defeat for the Government.
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> The guilds, as already stated, have their own courts, and the members, as a rule, avoid the official courts. Sometimes, however, it is impossible to do this. Outside parties bring suits against guild members before the government officials, and these members must appear, just as other citizens do. In the past, however, the government courts have usually decided such cases in harmony with the regulations of the guild concerned.[2]

Although the growing power of political and municipal government in Peking has very effectively weakened the prestige and power of the guilds, all the evidence we have indicates that great strength and solidarity characterized them in the past. Whether or not such activities were, as Williams thinks, a contribution in the "defense of popular liberty,"[3] is, however, another question. There seems to be no indication, at least from our study of the Peking guilds, that the sense of general civic responsibility and of public service was uppermost in the minds of the guildsmen. Their activities seem to have been directed primarily for the benefit of their own group rather than from a sense of duty to the public welfare.

[1] *Cf.* pp. 259-260.

[2] Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-4.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 204.

4: Brugess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

their strike in 1926 made demands which included the paying of wages to apprentices and the limitation of the proportion of apprentices to journeymen. 441* 467*

Certain of the provincial guilds are combining to form industrial unions. Dr. Chen describes the difficulty in overcoming provincial feeling among the employees of the shipping industry. Chinese seamen are for the most part from Canton, Ningpo and Tientsin. The attempt to organize these three groups into one industrial union has not proved very successful up to date. To use Dr. Chen's expression: "The clannishness of the Chinese is proverbial and their habits are hard to change."

6. THE APPRENTICE SYSTEM IS UNDERGOING MODIFICATION

Certain types of modern education are undermining the power of the guild master to control the apprentice system. For example, the vocational training schools in Shanghai and vicinity are teaching trades by using modern methods of instruction. Unfortunately the graduates of these schools are sometimes refused admission to the guilds on the ground that they have not gone through the usual apprentice period. Partly in order to solve this problem, the schools are inviting masters of trades to teach a few hours a week, in the hope of making a nexus between the school and the industry. 441* 467* 871

7. MODIFICATION OF THE GUILD SYSTEM OWING TO MODERN CHINESE LAW AND REGULATION

In former times the government took a *laissez-faire* attitude toward the guilds, allowing them to control trade and commerce very much along their own lines. In recent years, especially since the founding of the Republic, there has been an increasing tendency to regulate trade and industry. 441* 467* 656

In this study we have noted the objection on the part of the Peking police to the inflicting of punishment on their own members by guildsmen. The endeavor on the part of the

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

local government to impose taxes on guild products or on sales has also been described.

The national and provincial governments have taken an active part in the promotion of chambers of commerce in China. Yuan Shih Kai, when Governor of Shantung, in 1900, suggested the organization of a chamber of commerce for the whole province. By 1915, 869 such chambers had been established, representing 230,431 shops. In 1911, after the Revolution, the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce was given supervison of these commercial bodies, and in 1914, that ministry promulgated a series of regulations for them.

A chamber of commerce, according to these regulations, is a group of business men who are either officers of corporations, representatives of gilds, or men who are independently interested in industrial or commercial enterprises, who have not been deprived of their rights of citizenship, who have not outstanding any uncanceled decree of bankruptcy, and who are not afflicted with nervous diseases.[1]

The duties of these chambers of commerce are minutely prescribed by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. They include such items as the following: consulting about industrial and commercial reforms; furnishing information to officials about commercial and industrial questions; settling industrial and commercial disputes at the request of interested parties; being responsible for maintaining order when there is a money panic.

Directors of the chambers of commerce are entrusted with the duty of carrying out all these functions except that relating to the settlement of disputes between merchants or between merchants and workmen. For this purpose a few of its more prominent members are selected to act as judges.

[1] Gamble and Burgess, p. 205.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Under the Republic the Ministries of Justice and of Agriculture and Commerce have made very careful regulations concerning this court.[1] Only cases important to commerce may be brought to this tribunal. All decisions may be appealed to a government court.

The effects of the organization of the Chamber of Commerce and of these related courts upon the functions and operations of the commercial guilds is very great. In Peking the commercial guilds, formerly isolated bodies, have become related to a more inclusive group, with a larger program and interest. Our reports indicate again and again the growing power of the Chamber of Commerce over the activities of local guilds. Taxes are paid through the Chamber of Commerce. Inter-guild disputes, formerly settled by informal groups of neutral guildsmen, now go to the Chamber of Commerce Court. Contests with the officials, formerly waged by each small organization independently, are now conducted by this union of all the trades of the city. It must further be remembered that these local chambers of commerce are related to the provincial and national organizations. This whole plan has the result of breaking up the localism and petty interest of the original commercial groups.

In the regulations of the Department of Agriculture and Labor of the Peoples Party there is a clause that forbids official sanction (registration) to any union if in its constitution there is found a stipulation of compulsory membership. In the past it was a chief source of strength to the guilds that they could force all craftsmen or those of the same occupation in the local area to become guildsmen. In these new organizations, many of which are reorganized guilds, such a practice is forbidden by law.

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, Appendix, National Regulation for Chamber of Commerce Courts and Detailed Rules of Chamber of Commerce Courts.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

8. PRESENT POLITICAL TRENDS ARE AFFECTING THE ORGANIZATION OF GUILDS

*441 *447 656 Up to the present the policies and programs of the Peoples Party have affected the industrial and commercial life of Peking very little, if at all. The Northern capital has in recent years remained under the control of the more conservative Northern militarists. For the most part, there has been a rigid suppression of any attempt in the North China area to organize labor, although some organization has taken place among the miners and railroad employees. The Peoples Party in South and Central China has as its avowed policy the improvement of the conditions of life among laborers. This party and the broad outlines of its policy are the best contemporary embodiment of the aspirations of new National China. These policies are likely eventually to modify commercial and industrial life in Peking as elsewhere in China. We are, therefore, going into some detail in describing the policy of the *Kuo Min Tang* government toward labor and industrial questions.

Although many of the regulations below mentioned pertain primarily to unions rather than to guilds, the growing control of the government, especially in South China, over all industrial and commercial undertakings is seen by the following statements quoted from Dr. Chen's letter:

(1) Relationship between the party and the workers: In the party there is a section on labor which is charged with the duty of looking into urban and rural labor matters. Since 1924 when the party platform was modified, there are two articles concerning labor (both are in the part concerning internal affairs). Article 10 states in substance that the Kwo Min Tang pledges to reform village organizations and to improve peasants' living conditions. Article 11 says that the party resolves to enact labor laws for the improvement of the worker's life, to protect labor organizations and to assist in their general develop-

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

ind places for two of their representatives. This was the only change that took place after the Chamber was founded. About 60 stores were regular members ef the association, and payed dues, but the Chamber had also the right to levy definite contributions from other stores who were not members, as a recognition of the fact that the Chamber was the organisation which looked after the welfare and interests of the trading Center. 441 515

The chief purpose for which the Chamber existed was to protect the traders from abuse from the govrnement, from soldiers, and from bandits and thieves. They dealt with all requests for financial aid from the central and local authorities or from the resident soldiers. They almost entirely financed their local guard, and also give liberally in aid of the social welfare of the community.

The Koomintang or Nationalist Party encourage a different type of organisation and with the setting up of the Party machinery in the town the Chamber has suffered a set back. The Party authorities succeeded in persuading some of the merchants to leave the old association, and to organise into a union, but the Chamber itself has pursued a course of passive resistance. The leaders of the Chamber have not joined the new organisation, and are awaiting a favourable opportunity to revive the activities of the Chamber of Commerce.

2 The Merchants' Union.

Immediately after the establishment in the town of the Party organisation they called a meeting of 441 656

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

441/656 the merchants when about sixty seven stores were represented together with two local Party directors, and one representative from the county Party organisation. At this meeting it was decided to form a new union and three executive officers wers elected whose work was to be practically the same as that formerly performed by the Chamber of Commerce. As previously mentioned the leaders of the Chamber of Commerce were not in favour of the new organisation, and the lack of their moral and financial support has been a handicap to the work of the new union. Although the new association has the Party authorities behind it it lacks local co-opersation, and has not the same influence which was wielded by the old Chamber of Commerce. The union has been divided into three divisions-employers, employees and pedlars. In most towns the second class of employees is usually the strongest force, as they need more help and protection than the other two classes, but in Ching Ho it is the employers who control the Union, so that the new Union is very little different from the old Chamber. There has simply been a change of personnel from one faction to another. The Party authorities have left the town but the new Union has retained its power, altnough for some time there have been rumours that the old leaders intend to re-establish the Chamber of Commerce. Much will depend upon the attitude of the government. In Shanghai and Peping the Chambers of Commerce have been able to withstand the new unions, and are still the most influential economic organisations. If the government is prepared to adopt a liberal attitude it may be possible for

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

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both organisations to work together in Ching Ho.

3 The Association for the Protection of Green Crops.

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The next important organization in the town is the farmers association which is called by various names in different districts: either The Agricultural Association, The Association for the protection of Green Crops (The *Ching miao Hai*) or The Farmers' Union. The first name is an official title given by the old government, the second is the popular name, and third is the name given by the Kuomentang to the reorganised association under their direction. In Ching Ho we found the second and third types of association only.

The Association for the Protection for the Protection of Green Crops is an organisation purely for self protection. It has a long history dating back severa hundreds of years, and has enjoyed great popularity in many parts of China, especially in the Province of Hopei. The internal organisation is very simple. There are five heads, (one serving as treasurer,) who own large areas of land, and, and who are elected by the consensus of opinion of larger land owners. Thus although the tenants receive an equal amount of protection, they, have no voice in the administrative side of their work, and the organisation is really an associotion of land owners. These heads assess the dues to be paid, with the result that quite often the tenants are paying a full share while the larger land owners are carrying less than their weight.

The primary work of the association is the protection of green crops in the Spring and Autumn, and four guards are employed for this purpose. On the

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

494 however, is settled by bargaining. The amount agreed
465 upon naturally varies with the time of day, the weather, and the number of rickshas about. When engaged on a time basis, the fare ranged as high as 20 cents an hour, or $1 a day. For full-time work, a private ricksha man usually was paid $12 a month, and was expected to buy his own food. If he furnished the ricksha, his wage ordinarily was $18 a month, the rent of a better-class ricksha being 20 cents a day. The rent paid for their vehicles by the ricksha men among our families varied from $2.20 to $6 per month. The average was $3.10 a month, or a little over 10 cents a day. Three families employed full-
[651] time ricksha men. A monthly tax of 40 coppers, or a little more than 10 cents, was levied on each ricksha licensed by the police. This tax was paid by the owner. In August the police, aiming to improve the dress of the ricksha men, required them to purchase uniform jackets, costing 60 cents apiece.

494 Street-cars are operated on most of the main streets of the city. Being faster and cheaper than rickshas, they are well patronized, especially by those traveling a considerable distance. The cars are usually so crowded, however, that many people prefer to use rickshas. In 1927, the crowding was greatly intensified by the fact that the soldiers of Chang Tso-lin's army rode free.

493 Six families reported the purchase of bicycles for
656 amounts ranging from $14 to $90. Four other families spent small amounts for repairs and taxes. All bicycles were required to carry license numbers and were supposed
651 to pay a monthly tax. The latter was regularly collected for a time, but then was apparently allowed to lapse. The amounts paid as taxes were 15 and 20 cents a month.